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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA  
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, DENIS  
MOLINA, JHONY SILVA, MARIA ELENA  
HERNANDEZ, O.C., SANDHYA LAMA,  
S.K., TEOFILO MARTINEZ,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as  
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED  
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND  
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 3:25-cv-05687

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF TOM WONG  
IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE  
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY  
ACTION**

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**EXPERT DECLARATION OF TOM WONG**

1  
2 1. I, Tom Wong, am an Associate Professor of political science and Founding Director of  
3 the U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. If called to testify, I could and would  
4 do so as follows:

5 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion to assess economic and family ties to  
6 the United States of Honduran, Nicaraguan and Nepali TPS holders. I make this declaration based on  
7 my personal and professional knowledge, my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and  
8 data regularly relied upon in my field that are currently available to me. If additional information  
9 becomes available, or if I believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary  
10 theories, I will advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend to do so and will seek their help in following the  
11 appropriate judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are my own. I have been compensated  
12 at a rate of \$250/hour for my testimony in this case.  
13

14 **Qualifications**

15 3. I am an Associate Professor with tenure at the University of California, San Diego  
16 (UCSD). I work in the political science department, which is consistently ranked by U.S. News &  
17 World Report as one of the top ten political science departments nationally. I am the Founding Director  
18 of the U.S. Immigration Policy Center at UCSD, and I am also the Co-Director of the Human Rights  
19 and Migration Program Minor at UCSD.  
20

21 4. I am an expert on immigration policy and I use, and have expertise in, quantitative  
22 social science research methods. I have written two peer-reviewed books and dozens of peer-reviewed  
23 journal articles, book chapters, and reports on immigration policy. For example, my most recent book,  
24 which was published by Oxford University Press (2017), analyzes 31,193 roll call votes on  
25 immigration-related legislation in Congress from 2005 to present, making it the most comprehensive  
26 analysis to date on contemporary immigration policies in the United States.  
27  
28

1           5.       I received a Ph.D. in political science at the end of the 2010-2011 academic year. I was  
2 a post-doctoral research fellow during the 2011-2012 academic year. I joined the political science  
3 department at UCSD during the 2012-2013 academic year. I served as an advisor to the White House  
4 Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, where I worked on the immigration portfolio,  
5 during the 2015-2016 academic year. I was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor with tenure at  
6 UCSD during the 2016-2017 academic year.

7  
8           6.       Previously, I have testified as an expert at trial in the case of *El Cenizo, Texas, et al. v*  
9 *Texas*, No. 17-cv-404 (W.D. Tex.) and have also testified as an expert by deposition in the case of  
10 *United States of America v. California*, No. 18-cv-490 (E.D. Cal.).

#### 11 **Overview**

12  
13           7.       I analyzed Honduran, Nicaraguan and Nepali TPS holders' ties to their communities  
14 and embeddedness in the U.S. economy. For Honduras, Nicaragua and Nepal, I used the most recent  
15 Census American Community Survey (ACS) data to identify a representative sample of likely  
16 Honduran, Nicaraguan, and Nepali TPS holders to assess their deep roots in the United States,  
17 including their economic incorporation and their United States citizen family members. For Nepal, I  
18 also relied on a survey I conducted of TPS holders in 2020. There is a lacuna of systematic research  
19 on the incorporation of TPS holders in the United States. I believe my 2020 survey of Nepali TPS  
20 holders is the largest survey of Nepali TPS holders conducted to date.

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22           8.       The analysis of ACS data concerning Honduran, Nicaraguan, and Nepali TPS holders,  
23 and the 2020 survey of Nepali TPS holders, make clear that Honduran, Nicaraguan and Nepali TPS  
24 holders make significant contributions to the U.S. society and economy, and have deep community  
25 ties.

#### 26 **Honduran TPS Holders**

1           9. I used the most recent Census American Community Survey (ACS) 2023 1-year file to  
2 estimate likely Honduran TPS holders. I use the Warren method of logical edits to estimate likely  
3 undocumented persons. I then identified all likely undocumented persons who were born in Honduras  
4 and who entered the United States before 1999. There are 44,821 persons who meet these parameters.  
5 The most recent estimate of Honduran TPS holders shows 52,585 Honduran TPS holders as of  
6 September 2024.<sup>1</sup> The lower estimate of likely Honduran TPS holders relative to the number of  
7 Honduran TPS holders as of September 2024 may be due to an undercount of this difficult to reach  
8 population in the Census American Community Survey.

10           10. Honduran TPS holders have lived in the United States for an average of 29.3 years.  
11 This includes 89.2 percent of Honduran TPS holders have lived in the United States between 25 and  
12 34 years and 10.8 percent who lived in the United States between 35 and 44 years.

13           11. Nearly half (50.2 percent) of Honduran TPS holders are married. Of these, 27.0 percent  
14 have U.S. citizen spouses.

15           12. There are 44,193 children who live with Honduran TPS recipients. Of this total, 81.2  
16 percent were born in the United States. This translates into 35,886 U.S. citizen children.

17           13. Most (80.9 percent) Honduran TPS holders are in the labor force. Among those in the  
18 labor force, 97.5 percent are employed. 2.2 percent, or 980, Honduran TPS holders, are currently in  
19 school.

20           14. The top occupations for Honduran TPS holders include construction laborers, janitors  
21 and building cleaners, maids and housekeeping cleaners, laborers and freight, stock, and material  
22 movers, painters and paperhangers, electricians, and carpenters.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RS20844?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22tps+tp%22%7D&s=2&r=11>

1           15. Honduran TPS holders who are employed make an average of \$33,308.00 in pre-tax  
2 wages and salary income. This translates into a combined \$1,178,470,348 in pre-tax wages and salary  
3 income. If Honduran TPS holders were removed from the workforce, this would translate into a loss  
4 of \$73,065,162 annually in Social Security contributions<sup>2</sup> and \$17,087,820 annually in Medicare  
5 contributions.<sup>3</sup>

#### 6 **Nicaraguan TPS Holders**

7  
8           16. I used the most recent Census American Community Survey (ACS) 2023 1-year file to  
9 estimate likely Nicaraguan TPS holders. I use the Warren method of logical edits to estimate likely  
10 undocumented persons. I then identified all likely undocumented persons who were born in Nicaragua  
11 and who entered the United States before 1999. There are 2,587 persons who meet these parameters.  
12 The most recent estimate of Nicaraguan TPS holders shows 2,935 Nicaraguan TPS holders as of  
13 September 2024.<sup>4</sup> The lower estimate of likely Nicaraguan TPS holders relative to the number of  
14 Nicaraguan TPS holders as of September 2024 may be due to an undercount of this difficult to reach  
15 population in the Census American Community Survey.  
16

17           17. Nicaraguan TPS holders have lived in the United States for an average of 33.2 years.  
18 This includes 53.4 percent of Nicaraguan TPS holders have lived in the United States between 25 and  
19 34 years and 46.6 percent who have lived in the United States between 35 and 44 years.  
20

21           18. Most (77.8 percent) Nicaraguan TPS holders are married. Of these, 40.1 percent have  
22 U.S. citizen spouses.

23           19. There are 2,323 children who live with Nicaraguan TPS recipients. Of this total, 77.3  
24 percent were born in the United States. This translates into 1,796 United States citizen children.  
25

26  
27 <sup>2</sup> 6.2 percent per the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA).

<sup>3</sup> 1.45 percent per the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA).

28 <sup>4</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RS20844?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22tps+tp%22%7D&s=2&r=11>

20. Most (84.2 percent) of Nicaraguan TPS holders are in the labor force. Among those, 95.2 percent are employed. 3.9 percent, or 102, Nicaraguan TPS holders, are currently in school.

21. Nicaraguan TPS holders who are employed make an average of \$32,812.73 in pre-tax wages and salary income. This translates into a combined \$68,020,789 in pre-tax wages and salary income. If Nicaraguan TPS holders were removed from the workforce, this would translate into a loss of \$4,217,289 annually in Social Security contributions<sup>5</sup> and \$986,301 annually in Medicare contributions.<sup>6</sup>

### **Nepali TPS Holders**

22. I used the most recent Census American Community Survey (ACS) 2023 1-year file to estimate likely Nepali TPS holders. I use the Warren method of logical edits to estimate likely undocumented persons. I then identified all likely undocumented persons who were born in Nepal and who entered the United States before 2015. There are 15,611 persons who meet these parameters. The most recent estimate of Nepali TPS holders shows 7,505 Nepali TPS holders as of September 2024.<sup>7</sup> I thus randomly sampled from the larger universe of likely Nepali TPS holders to settle on a sample of 7,505 likely Nepali TPS holders.

23. Nepali TPS holders have lived in the United States for an average of 14.7 years. This includes 29.1 percent of Nepali TPS holders have lived in the United States between 9 and 10 years, 56.3 percent who have lived in the United States between 11 and 20 years, 13.9 percent who have lived in the United States between 21 and 30 years, and 0.7 percent who have lived in the United States between 31 and 40 years.

<sup>5</sup> 6.2 percent per the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA).

<sup>6</sup> 1.45 percent per the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA).

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RS20844?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22tps+tp%22%7D&s=2&r=11>

1           24.     Most (67.3 percent) Nepali TPS holders are married. Of these, 25.6 percent have U.S.  
2 citizen spouses.

3           25.     There are 5,598 children who live with Nepali TPS recipients. Of this total, 64.0 percent  
4 were born in the United States. This translates into 3,585 United States citizen children.

5           26.     Most (83.7 percent) of Nepali TPS holders are in the labor force. Among those, 97.6  
6 percent are employed. 13.2 percent, or 984, Nepali TPS holders, are currently in school.

7           27.     Nepali TPS holders who are employed make an average of \$76,544.08 in pre-tax wages  
8 and salary income. This translates into a combined \$465,541,095 in pre-tax wages and salary income.  
9 If Nepali TPS holders were removed from the workforce, this would translate into a loss of  
10 \$28,863,548 annually in Social Security contributions<sup>8</sup> and \$6,750,346 annually in Medicare  
11 contributions.<sup>9</sup>  
12

13           28.     In 2020, I fielded a survey of Nepali TPS holders. The survey was fielded with the help  
14 of Adhikaar, a Nepali human rights and justice organization. Between June 24, 2020 and August 3,  
15 2020, I surveyed 372 Nepali TPS holders by phone using a list of Nepali TPS holders compiled by  
16 Adhikaar. All survey enumerators were bilingual (English and Nepali).  
17

18           29.     Nepali TPS holders contribute significantly to the U.S. economy, including earning  
19 higher wages after receiving TPS, which translates into greater tax revenue and economic growth that  
20 benefits all Americans. Work authorization is crucial to allowing Nepali TPS holders to participate in  
21 and contribute to the economy. The data show that more than 9 out of 10 respondents, or 91.7 percent,  
22 received work authorization after receiving TPS. Being able to work has played an integral part in  
23 helping Nepali TPS holders build new lives and integrate into American society. 76.7 percent of  
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27 \_\_\_\_\_  
28 <sup>8</sup> 6.2 percent per the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA).

<sup>9</sup> 1.45 percent per the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA).



1 respondents agreed that because of TPS, “I have been able to earn more money, which helped my  
2 family financially.”

3 30. Nepali TPS holders brought a diverse array of skills to the labor force. The survey was  
4 fielded during the pandemic, and many Nepali TPS holders worked as essential workers, such as  
5 doctors, nurses and grocery store workers. Occupations that respondents reported included:  
6 accountant, assistant engineer, biomedical engineer, business systems analyst, business owner,  
7 certified nursing assistant, community organizer, data coordinator, data scientist, doctor, engineer,  
8 geotechnical engineer, home health aid, hydrological engineer, IT project manager, legal assistant,  
9 marketing analyst, musician, network engineer, nurse, population health analyst, research assistant,  
10 and software engineer. Nearly two-thirds of respondents, or 62.7 percent, said that because of TPS, “I  
11 was able to get a job that better fits my education and training.”  
12

13 31. Nepali TPS holders also contribute to the economy as consumers. Since receiving TPS,  
14 59.1 percent of respondents reported opening bank accounts in the United States; approximately one-  
15 third, or 31.2 percent, reported purchasing a car; and 4.6 percent reported purchasing a home. Large  
16 purchases such as cars matter in terms of state revenue, as most states collect a percentage of the  
17 purchase price in sales tax, along with additional registration and title fees. Moreover, the broader  
18 positive economic effects of home purchases include job creation in local economies as well as  
19 infusions of new spending.  
20

21 32. A staggering 81.5 percent of the Nepali TPS holders surveyed “agreed” or “strongly  
22 agreed” that, “If I returned to Nepal, I would be concerned about the physical safety of myself and my  
23 family.” Among respondents who have U.S. citizen children, this percentage increased to 85.3 percent.  
24

25 33. The data further show that having TPS has significantly contributed to feelings of  
26 inclusion and belonging among Nepali TPS holders. For example, 84.9 percent of respondents “agree”  
27 or “strongly agree” with the statement, “I feel like I belong more in the U.S. because of TPS.”  
28

Moreover, 90.1 percent “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement, “I am less concerned about my safety and well-being because of TPS,” and 85 percent “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement, “I am less concerned about the safety and well-being of my family because of TPS.”

### **Conclusion**

34. Honduran, Nicaraguan and Nepali TPS holders are deeply rooted in U.S. society. This includes deep family ties in the United States. Many Honduran, Nicaraguan and Nepali TPS holders have U.S. citizen spouses and children. Losing TPS would likely separate TPS holders from their U.S. citizen family members.

35. TPS holders rely on TPS for stable employment. Losing TPS would negatively affect their livelihoods and ability to support themselves and their families.

36. Honduran, Nicaraguan and Nepali TPS holders make significant contributions to the U.S. economy. Their labor force participation is significantly higher than the national average. They add to America’s human capital and work in diverse fields, including labor, healthcare, science, construction and the service industry. The loss of TPS for Honduran, Nicaraguan and Nepali TPS holders would remove qualified workers from the U.S. labor force. Losing TPS and the work authorization that comes with it would mean TPS holders would no longer be able—or be less able—to contribute to the U.S. economy, which means lower tax revenue and slower economic growth, which negatively affects all Americans.

37. TPS holders are deeply woven into the U.S. economy. In addition to the loss of workers, and the tax revenue and economic growth that comes from that, the loss of TPS would mean that TPS holders could no longer contribute to the economy as consumers, including through such substantial purchases as homes and cars.

38. The end of TPS would mean, in many cases, sending people back to a country where their safety, or their family’s safety, is at risk.

1 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is  
2 true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

3 Executed this 2nd day of July, 2025, in San Diego, California.

4 

5  
6  
7 Tom Wong